The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 302 891
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache, through an understandable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Townsmen are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [834]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517 824 574
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Sattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine.

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Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed baraka

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezî*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.